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MARIOLOGY IN LATIN AMERICA

Eugene A. Nida

Within the last few years, there has been a marked increase of interest in Mariology within the Roman Catholic Church. This increased focus of attention upon Mary has found expression in the establishment of many shrines, wide publicity of alleged miracles, numerous books and articles on the significance of Mary for the modern world, and intense promotion of the Virgin of Fatima as the protectress of Christendom against Communism. The recent promulgation of the doctrine of the assumption of the Virgin has augmented Mary's theological status, and the much-discussed doctrine of Mary as coredemptrix with Jesus Christ seems to be gaining in influence within the Roman church.

For the most part, this development in Mariology has been discussed by Protestants primarily in terms of the theological implications of the ever-increasing centrality of Mary within the Roman system. In large measure, however, Protestants have failed to see this development in terms of the broader cultural implications. In order to understand and more fully appreciate what is happening within the Roman church, we need to view this extraordinary emphasis upon Mary in the light of the anthropological background involved.

Dying Christ and Living Mary

In trying to understand the reasons for the focusing of attention upon Mary, some persons have readily seen that this is an almost inevitable result of making Christ less and less attractive to the people. Rather than portraying Christ as a victorious "culture hero" (if we may be permitted to speak in purely anthropological terms), Christ is the defeated, dying victim. Such a Christ produces feelings of pity and compassion, but He does not inspire with confidence and hope. Christ on the cross reminds the sinner of his sins, but this symbol does not suffice to make the average person want to identify himself with the suffering Savior.¹ Contemplation of the dying Christ does elicit strong emotional

feelings, but they tend to drain one of nervous energy. Accordingly, they do not result in a feeling of well-being or confidence.

On the other hand, in contrast with the dying Christ there is the symbol of the radiantly beautiful Mary, the benevolent person who is always accessible and always giving. It is Mary who has compassion for the multitude, and it is the contemplation of this symbol which brings reassurance and a sense of hope and well-being. As the mediatrix between the worshiper and Christ, or God, she becomes the giver of life, the source of health, and the means of power. It is not strange, therefore, that the center of worship in the Roman church should shift from Christ to Mary, for people prefer to identify themselves with a living Mary rather than with a dying Christ.

The Mass and Fertility Rites

This contrast between death and life has been further accentuated in the Roman development of the mass, which in its early New Testament form reflected the covenant meal of the Old Testament. However, during the first few centuries it became in many aspects almost totally assimilated to the fertility cult rites of the mystic religions. Whether as reflecting the rites of Eleusis, Isis, or Osiris, or those which centered in the cult of Astarte, the same dominant principle prevailed--the dying god-son raised to life through the principle of female productivity. As the mass developed, it became no longer a commemorative feast, but a miraculous re-enactment of the shedding of blood. The worshiper was not just reminded of what Christ had done (i.e. the fact that Christ died and rose again), but that He was constantly dying for the people, and they partook of His very body and blood, whether directly or in the person of the priest. This symbol served only to reinforce their equation of Christ with death, and not with life. The emotional unattractiveness of this procedure left a spiritual and psychological void which was filled by the symbol of the Virgin--readily borrowed from the pagan

mystery religions and taken over with very little adaptation into the practices of the church, though with a certain measure of theological polishing.

The Latin Culture Context

The fact that the symbol of the suffering, dying Christ was gradually replaced by the loving, living Mary is, however, by no means all of the story, particularly in the case of Latin America. There the developments have an even deeper significance as far as their relationship to the cultural themes are concerned. In the Ibero-American culture (excluding the Indian elements) the church and the society seem to fit like a glove on a hand, and quite understandably so, for in a sense the glove and the hand "grew up together." The Latin culture has, of course, been in a large measure the product of the teaching of the church, and in turn the church has adapted itself to the special Latin characteristics. Any attempt to discover the order of priority (the old problem of the chicken and the egg) is a relatively fruitless undertaking, for such adjustments always come as successive waves of give and take. However, within the contemporary life of Latin America there are certain important observations which can be made concerning the reciprocal re-enforcement of the related institutions, and it is this phase of the cultural pattern which we need to note briefly.

Female Orientation

There are three underlying factors which must be understood if we are to appreciate the close relationship between the Roman church and Latin American society. In the first place, Latin American culture is female-oriented. By this we do not mean to imply that this orientation is the only or even the dominant one, but in contrast with other cultures which in this area of life may be described as sex-oriented, certainly Latin American culture shows a dominant tendency toward female orientation. In our own U.S.A. society, as well as in the

culture of ancient Greece, the dominant element seems to be more a matter of sex itself than of interest in the female. These differences may be noted in such characteristics as (1) less homosexuality than in our own culture, (2) more overt attention paid to sex characteristics of females, and (3) greater concentration of interest in eliciting female response than in simply gratifying sexual drives. Furthermore, the greater distinctiveness in male and female roles tends to re-enforce the female-oriented nature of Latin society.

The Mother Role

In the second place, in Latin American society the mother is the emotional center of the family. The father is more or less expected to have extramarital relations—whether with prostitutes or mistresses. In fact, in some regions of Latin America the number and quality of one's mistresses is a more decisive factor in gaining prestige than the number of cars one owns. Since the father is expected to have divided loyalties and to possess other emotional attachments, it is not difficult to understand why children should feel greater emotional attachment to the mother, even though they may continue to have a deep respect for their father. In saying that the father is expected to engage in extramarital affairs, we do not imply that all men do, for some are very faithful to their families, especially some in the middle and lower income groups. However, though some fathers may not be unfaithful, there is nevertheless the general attitude that if such men should become unfaithful, it is not to be too severely condemned. Furthermore, the wives in such circumstances are supposed to be more or less tolerant toward such affairs and to accept the fact of competition with equanimity.

A more or less natural consequence of the mother's role as bestower of benefits from the time the children are quite small is that she continues to function in this same way, though in a somewhat different form. Rather than being the direct source of help, she becomes

the intercessor of the children with the less approachable father. In fact, fathers are supposed to be somewhat standoffish and mothers are supposed to be more indulgent. Of course, there are numerous exceptions to these roles, but this is the general pattern. Even though in a particular community this pattern may not be the statistically dominant one, it is, nevertheless, regarded by most Latins as being the way Latin life is organized. Hence, the "myth" (or the reality) of the more distant father and the interceding mother becomes a cultural framework in which the concept of an exacting God and a benevolent Mary can have meaning.

Women in the Church

In the third place, there is a very well-defined relationship of re-enforcement between the status of women and the position of the church. The status of the wife in an outwardly monogamist society is maintained by the church by denying the validity of divorce. In fact, in some countries of Latin America the Roman church has had such influence upon the governments that there is no possible way for a person to obtain a legal divorce. The church, accordingly, confirms and maintains the wife's status by legally preventing or by placing severe obstacles in the way of any other female's threatening the position of the wife. At the same time, the mores of the society permit almost wholesale competition for the romantic affection of the husband, but by threat of excommunication against divorcees (though not against mistresses or adulterers) status is maintained, even though in the actual role of women there is often a wide discrepancy between real and ideal roles and behavior.

It is, accordingly, quite understandable that the wife and mother should be concerned with the re-enforcing of the authority of an institution, such as the church, which does so much to protect her status. As the faithful, interceding mother, she identifies herself with the Virgin and finds her confidence in the strength of the one institution which maintains her status and which seems to defend her role.

Since there is also a rather well-defined pattern of indulgence of mothers toward sons, it is not difficult to see how in this aspect as well the people assume that the most effective way of reaching the somewhat formidable Christ is through the indulgent, benevolent mother. Accordingly, not only do women find in Mary a cultural type with which they may identify themselves, but many men, whether consciously or unconsciously, tend to transfer their feelings of dependence upon their mother to worship of the Virgin Mother.

All this means that loyalty to the Virgin is not the result primarily of instruction by the church itself, but of a kind of unconscious reflex of the underlying emotional patterns in Latin life. This is perhaps the principal reason why the Roman church continues to be so strong, despite the strong liberal and intellectual movements in Latin America. Time and again, the Jesuits have been forced out of various countries, and in many areas there are strong anticlerical movements, but despite such anti-church attitudes there seems to be a continued devotion to the Virgin as an unconscious symbol of the life of the people. It is not without significance that for each of the countries or principal regions in Latin America there is some patron Virgin. Individual areas may also have their patron saints, but the overruling focus of emotional attachment is to the Virgin. This promotion of the Virgin as the patron of the nation is a natural outgrowth of the role of the benevolent mother on the lower level of the family unit.

Male-oriented Cultures

In contrast with the centrality of Mary in Latin America, it is interesting to note the differences in the Greek Orthodox Church, as well as other Eastern churches, e.g. Coptic, Armenian, and Ethiopic. Though the Eastern as well as the Roman churches had a very similar early history as regards certain aspects of the mass and the recognition of Mary as "Mother of God" (a significant feature of the Athanasian and Arian controversy),

nevertheless the Eastern church has not made Mary the center of adoration to the extent that the Roman church has done, especially in Ibero-American culture. Part of this disparity may be attributed to the fact that the Eastern church rejected the use of images and sensuous art forms. The icons, relics, and mosaics were not particularly well adapted to emphasizing a female sex element. On the other hand, the Eastern churches are studied with frescoes and murals, but these are predominantly of masculine persons: Biblical heroes, early saints, and Jesus Christ. However, despite the difference in the art forms and objects, one basic reason for this diversity between the Eastern churches and the Roman ones is to be found--the fact that in the area of the Eastern churches society is much less female-centered. In this feature there has no doubt been some influence from Islamic culture during the last thousand years or so. But one must also recognize the fact that the culture of the Eastern Mediterranean, even before the rise of Islam, was essentially male-oriented. Important broad patterns of life have had a significant influence in molding the churches of both the East and the West.

Theology and Emotions

The most frequent criticism leveled against the Protestants is that they do not "believe in" the Virgin. The arguments used by Roman Catholics do not betray any special theological concern for the Virgin. It is only that they cannot understand what seems to be gross lack of respect, gratitude, and filial loyalty. For the average Latin Roman Catholic the Virgin is not primarily the historical personage who lived in Nazareth, gave birth to Jesus Christ, and nurtured him to manhood; the Virgin is the symbolic projection of a series of emotional attitudes formed within the very first years of a child's life. Emotional attachment to the Virgin is thus acquired as one of the deepest and earliest psychological experiences. For the most part, this attitude toward the Virgin is without overt reasoning, though it may be formulated in memorized doctrines and expressed

in overt acts of prayer. The fact that Virgin adoration is largely implicit within the cultural framework greatly increases its hold upon the person, for any rejection of the Virgin is tied up with rejection of mother, home, and family love.

To a great extent, Protestant missionaries in Latin America have failed to understand fully the place of the "Virgin-symbol" in the lives of Roman Catholics. They have tried to employ theological arguments against what they have denounced as "Mariolatry." However, for the most part, Roman Catholics have been entirely unmoved by such theological arguments. The reason for this is that they learned to believe in the Virgin not from theological arguments but because of family relationships. Even though admitting the validity of arguments based upon historical revelations in the Scriptures, Roman Catholics find themselves emotionally unable to consider rejecting the Virgin. In fact, they often insist that they know God (even as revealed in the Scriptures) would not want them to do so, for they have never distinguished between filial loyalty and the religious symbol of the Virgin.

The Living Christ

If, however, the break from the Virgin-symbol is so difficult for Roman Catholics, how are we to explain what has happened for so many tens of thousands (about five million in all) who are Protestants in Latin America? There are, of course, a number of more or less overt "anthropological" reasons for people turning from Catholicism to Protestantism: (1) reaction to the authoritarianism of the church, (2) special educational advantages offered by Protestant missions, (3) personal resentment against the behavior of persons who were identified with the Roman church, and (4) a sense of frustration which ends up in a nonconformist defiance of the status quo and all it stands for. To this list may be added a number of other minor overt reasons for people becoming Protestants. However, there is another

reason which is far more important than any of these "trigger" causes. This is the substitution of the symbol of the victorious, living Christ for the defeated, dying one.

One of the most effective ways in which this new symbol has been communicated is through the Scriptures. Time after time, Roman Catholics have commented when they read the Scriptures that they "did not realize that Christ lived." They had thought of Him only as dying. The fact that His life was filled so full of service and identification of Himself with people and that, though He suffered, He rose from the dead and ascended to glory, seems to be an almost incomprehensible revelation.

Furthermore, in the message of the Scriptures Roman Catholics discover that it was God who identified Himself with man in Christ (God is no longer screened off by the ever-present Virgin) and that it was Christ who identified Himself wholly with man. It is this identification of Christ with man (He was one like us) which finally reaches through to men and women. Furthermore, Roman Catholics learn that this Christ who lived also lives today and by His Spirit walks with men. Here is the fullness of fellowship and the certainty of penetrating through the veil of uncertainty which always shrouds the well-meaning but sometimes thwarted efforts of the kindhearted Virgin-symbol.

It is not without significance that, for the most part, individual Roman Catholics do not become Protestants overnight. In fact, during the process of learning about the living Christ, they often go back time and again to praying to the Virgin, and in times of severe family crisis they feel an almost irresistible urge to seek refuge in the prayers and candles to the Virgin. When they do make a final break (sometimes after a number of years), they do so only when the symbol (and the reality) of the Christ as living intercessor has been completely substituted for the earlier symbol of the interceding Mother as intercessor.

It is just as well that Protestant missionaries recognize the fact that the symbol of the Lord Christ cannot hope to be as popular as that of the benevolent Mother, if by "popular" we mean that which has the greatest appeal to man's sinful nature. In the first place, the Virgin-symbol involves a physical attractiveness with sex appeal (whether admitted overtly or not--but who ever saw an image of a homely Virgin) and an emotional identification with mother-love. On the other hand, the symbol of the Lord Christ, though it may have some of the popular appeal of the culture hero, can never become simply a Davy Crockett. As God Himself, Christ always possesses for man that "otherness" which mystified even His closest disciples. He was one with them, and yet they recognized that He was utterly different. This mystery of the incarnation never escaped them and continues both to mystify and to inspire the believer's deepest thoughts and his highest aspirations.

Celibacy of the Priesthood

In the conversion of a person from Catholicism to Protestantism there is an important shift or orientation from female to male symbolism, with a much-decreased concentration upon the sex element, for it is much easier to identify oneself with the sex element in the more earthly Mother than to symbolize the sex relationship with the more distant Christ. On the other hand, the celibacy of Roman Catholic priests would seem to deny this sex element, but in reality it only confirms the sex factor. In his function as the earthly representative of Jesus Christ, the Pope and the priesthood which receive their sanction through him, must be symbolically identified with Christ. However, in order to be intimately associated with the Virgin-Mother symbol, they must be symbolically incapable of sex relations. Otherwise, there would be danger of "spiritual incest." On the other hand, the Protestant minister has no such attitudes toward the Virgin-symbol, and in his status of prophet, rather than primarily as priest, he identifies himself with the people, in order to bring them to God,

The Roman priest, on the other hand, is primarily a priest, identified with the bestower of benefits (i.e. the Virgin-Mother) and transmitter of blessings to the people.

The close relationship between celibacy of the priesthood and the Virgin-symbol may be seen by comparing further the practices of the Eastern and Roman churches. Asceticism began in the East as the result, it would appear, of predominantly Syrian influences, in which celibacy of priests in numerous pagan cults was regarded as an essential requisite for attendance upon the goddesses of fertility. (In a number of these religious cults castration was the symbol of identification with the goddess.) However, though celibacy began in the Eastern churches and was widespread during early centuries, it is not now regarded as a requisite for the priesthood, even though it may be encouraged in some of the orders and for certain higher posts in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. On the other hand, though celibacy was relatively slow in coming to the Western churches, it is now obligatory in the Roman church, for the very reason that only in this way can the priest (whether consciously or unconsciously) attain full identification with both Christ and the Virgin-Mother without the guilt of incest.² In the male-oriented culture of the East, where the Virgin is not the dominant symbol, celibacy is not so essential, and hence not obligatory.

Symbols

Perhaps one of the most difficult tasks for the Protestant missionary in Latin America is to realize the nature and importance of symbols, whether verbal or visual. This does not mean that the Protestant does not possess a number of symbols; he does. But for the most part his symbols are primarily words and verbal descriptions of people and events. When the Protestant thinks of Saint Peter, a whole series of images immediately come to the surface of his thinking, e.g. the denial at the trial, the three questions posed by Jesus

after the resurrection, Peter cutting the ear off Malchus, etc. For the average Roman Catholic in Latin America, Saint Peter means a statue in a particular church, a patron saint of a nearby town, a statue before which he prays in times of sickness in the family, a personage in heaven who intercedes with Mary, who in turn goes to Christ. If a Roman Catholic happens to have read the Bible, he may have some mental images similar to those of the Protestant, but for the most part, even if the Protestant and the Catholic use the same words "Saint Peter," they are very likely to be talking about entirely different things.

A number of Protestant symbols are words which stand for important beliefs (many of which the average Protestant cannot explain). These words symbolize important experiences in his life and doctrine which he believes are indispensable to faith: repentance, conversion, redemption, blessing, Holy Spirit, justification, sanctification, the dying Savior, the blood, the cross, the open tomb, saints, confession, prayer, faith, hope, assurance, etc. For the Roman Catholic a number of these words are associated with specific objects (or images) which he can see or rites in which he overtly participates: e. g. the blood (the wine at communion or red paint on the crucifix), the dying Savior (the crucifix), the cross, saints (heavenly intercessors and images within the home and at church), prayers (it is not without interest that the Catholic "says prayers" or "recites," but the Protestant "prays"), faith (as a list of doctrines), confession (to the priest), etc. However, for a number of word symbols which the average Protestant possesses there is often no corresponding object or mental image for the Catholic. For the most part, Roman Catholicism has objectified its symbols in attractive or awesome objects or in impressive rites. On the other hand, the Protestant emphasizes much more the abstract or historical value of the word symbols.

Protestant Symbolization for Catholics

If, however, a missionary is going to communicate effectively with people of Roman Catholic background, he must try to bridge the psychological gap which exists between the two systems by choosing word symbols which will help the Roman Catholic to understand the Protestant beliefs. Accordingly, rather than use words which may carry little or no meaning (or which may only define more or less abstract doctrines prior to their being explained at length), he needs to employ figures which will approximate in some measure the degree of objective symbolization which is so common to Roman Catholics. One of these symbols, and a very important one in communicating with Roman Catholics, is that of the rent veil. By means of this symbol one can indicate the significance of the Mediator of the new relationship with God. The symbol of the covenant meal, consecrated by the death of the One who offered Himself, can help explain the Biblical meaning of the communion. The symbol of the Risen Lord can help to transform the crucifix and give assurance that death is swallowed up in victory.

One of the reasons for the spectacular success of the Pentecostal churches of Chile is in their rich use of verbal symbols which help to create for their people the vivid impressions of Biblical events and characters, with whom the people in their dramatic times of united prayer and demonstrations identify themselves psychologically. In the relatively unattractive, stern atmosphere of Protestant churches of Latin America some attempt should be made to find compensatory verbal substitutes by which the symbolism becomes as meaningful as possible and the group fellowship as emotionally rewarding as the corresponding sense of beauty and pageantry in the Roman Catholic edifices and rites.

For the missionary one of the most essential elements is adequate understanding of the underlying factors influencing behavior. Without this knowledge we are sometimes immobilized, not knowing what to say nor

where to turn. Our understanding of the fundamental concepts of Latin American life is still very rudimentary, but we must make every effort to understand and to appreciate the basic nature of any society, if we are to have any appreciable success in communicating to such people the full meaning of Christ as Savior and Lord.

Notes

1. Masochistic individuals are of course the exceptions to this general scheme, and it is not without significance that a number of the more rigorous orders of the Roman church have been characterized by masochistic rites centering in identification with the crucified Christ.
2. It is quite true that these explanations involve several important features of Freudian psychology, but they are by no means dependent solely upon an acceptance or rejection of Freudian theories. These fundamental psychological relationships are recognized in one form or another by practically all psychoanalysts.

A CULTURALLY RELEVANT WITNESS

John Beekman

[The Chol Indians of Mexico have been turning to faith in Christ by the hundreds the past few years. The church is not only growing but is showing signs of maturity, of responsibility, and real health in a difficult and remote area. Why should this be so when others are so slow? John Beekman, a member of the Wycliffe Bible Translators working among the Chol and one of the translators of the New Testament, would be the last to ascribe the growth of the church to any single factor, but he here clearly describes the intelligent approach which was made to the Chol people, and certainly this was no small factor in the reception which the Gospel has had.]

One of the important duties of the missionary is to learn the culture of the people among whom he serves so as to be able to select those Scriptural truths which will have the greatest relevance to their particular needs and concerns. These are usually not the same as those which have appealed to the missionary in his own culture. While the basic need of man and the basic message is the same everywhere, the most effective presentation of the Gospel is that which takes into account the cultural beliefs and fears of the people. The rapid growth of the church among the Chol Indians of southern Mexico may, in part, be attributed to a culturally relevant witness. This paper partially illustrates how this has been done among the Chols in the hope that it may be suggestive to others.

The Chols believe in the sun and the moon as beneficent deities. These have been equated with God the Father and Mary, the mother of Jesus, as the result of the influence of Catholicism. In their churches an idol of Jesus has also become an object of their belief. The devil, however, occupies a greater place in their thinking than the aforementioned. Since the Father, Mary, and the Son pity mankind and all their activity is

directed toward the well-being of man, they need never be appeased. In contrast, the devil, who is considered the owner of the world and the ruler of the spirits in the realm of nature and in the animal kingdom, is the one who causes the hardships of life and who must be satisfied with sacrifices. When angered, he steals part of a person's spirit and locks it in a cave. It is important to avoid his anger. Belief in his malevolent avariciousness for spirits has given to him a greater importance than the deities of their more formal religious life.

When a baby boy or girl is born among the Chol Indians, the midwife may take the baby to the cave where the devil is supposed to live. After sweeping the inside of the cave and making an animal sacrifice to the devil, the midwife will request the privilege of asking for additional spirits for the new baby. The devil supposedly answers giving permission, and the midwife will proceed to ask for the spirits of a tiger, an earth mole, a humming bird, a fox, of the lightning, of the wind, and of fire. Seven spirits are requested. Only in infancy and in this manner can a person be indwelt with extra spirits. With these extra spirits the baby will grow strong with little sickness. After such a child has grown and has been taught the chants, he becomes a full-fledged witch-doctor with the power to commune with the devil and to work black magic on others.

All sickness among the Chols is believed to come from either of two sources. The devil who is considered to be the owner of the world may become angry and steal part of one's spirit. Sickness then follows. For example, if a baby in learning to walk falls upon the ground, the devil may become angered because the baby fell on his property. In his anger he will steal part of the baby's spirit and the child will become ill. Or, when a cornfield is made, large trees are felled and finally burned in preparation for the planting of corn. The devil may become angered with this use of his property and cause sickness. Or, when a new home is built, holes are dug for the four corner posts. Logs are taken from the

forest and grass from the lowlands. This use of the devil's property may arouse his anger and bring sickness to the residents of such a house.

The second source of sickness is the curse of a neighbor or the witch-doctor, through which one may become indwelt with an evil spirit. For example, the spirit of frogs cause a bloated stomach; the spirit of wasps causes boils; the spirit of an earth mole digging away at the roots of a tooth causes a toothache. The cure for these, as for the cure of all sickness, requires a consultation with the witch-doctor. For a toothache he will prescribe the trapping of an earth mole. After this has been trapped, he will begin his chants and ceremony, moving the dead mole over the aching tooth. As he does this the spirit at work in the aching tooth is supposed to pass out into the dead earth mole.

When one's spirit has been stolen by the devil and imprisoned in his cave, the witch-doctor must be consulted also. He will first commune with the devil to find out what sacrifice will appease his anger. It may be a pig, turkey, or chicken along with a designated quantity of liquor. When the sick person or a member of his family has secured these items, the witch-doctor will come into the home of the patient. The animal is stuck and the blood caught in a gourd. Then the ceremony begins. The blood is mixed with liquor and herbs. The witch-doctor takes these into his mouth and then spits them out in a stream upon the sick person. Then the patient may be given some to drink. The chanting and the playing of the violin accompany this ceremony, which may last a day and a night or several days and nights.

Sickness may be prevented by anticipating the anger of the devil. When a cornfield is made, a sacrifice can be given to the devil in advance of any sickness. Thus, before any corn is planted, parts of a chicken are planted in the four corners of the fields. Likewise, when a new home is finished, before the family moves in, the witch-doctor is called to make a sacrifice to the

devil. He spits the blood of an animal on the walls, then climbs up into the rafters and spits the blood into the grass roof. Parts of the sacrifice are buried under each of the corner posts. The house is thus dedicated to the devil. Therefore, if a child in learning to walk should fall within the house, no sickness follows. For this same reason, until recently the pagans buried their dead within the home.

How would you present the Gospel to a pagan people whose faith and fear in this system was such that it entered their daily thinking? In times of crisis the new believers would seek out the services of the witch-doctor. It was evident that he was the unifying factor in the culture. He was the only one who could commune with the devil to determine what sacrifice would be acceptable to regain one's health. He was the one through whom one could get revenge on a stronger neighbor who had done one evil. He was the one to be feared because of his extra spirits. Could he not cause corn to be blown down with his wind spirit? Could he not go great distances and spy on one's deeds with his humming bird spirit? Could he not cause one's house to be struck with his lightning spirit? Did he not have extraordinary powers with seven extra spirits?

The Gospel was not presented in terms of salvation from hell, not that this is not an important truth, but because it was not the most important in the thinking of the Chols. Everyone expected to go to hell for a certain number of years and to escape it entirely seemed presumptuous and not especially necessary. To be sure, Scriptural truth was brought to bear on the belief that one would be given a term of years to serve in hell.

The Gospel was presented in terms of gaining a Spirit more powerful than all the spirits of the witch-doctor. Those who were contacted on the trails or in other places were told that the witch-doctor was not altogether wrong. It is true that we can be indwelt with other spirits. They were then told of the Holy Spirit,

who not only the witch-doctor could have, but anyone at any age of life could have through simple faith in the shed blood of God's Son. The blood was specifically mentioned because of their cultural belief in the efficacy of animal blood, as already pointed out. They were told that the witch-doctor was powerful, but that the Holy Spirit had more power than he. In fact, He had more power than the devil himself. It was God who created the world. It was the Holy Spirit who moved upon the face of the water bringing order out of chaos. The devil, after all, is not the landowner. The ceremonies made for the devil as the landowner should, therefore, be made to God, who is the real owner.

The animal sacrifices made by the witch-doctor were not directly condemned. The question was asked: Who started animal sacrifices? The answer varied between the devil and the first witch-doctor. It was then pointed out that God instituted animal sacrifices as a type and symbol of His Son who should come to shed His blood for our welfare. But today, since Jesus has come and has shed His blood, the sacrifice of animals has no further purpose. The very core of their pagan belief was in this manner dealt with in a manner that each one could understand and was replaced with the heart of the Gospel.

This, however, was not enough, as intimated above. Something has to take the place of the ceremonies. Cultural substitutes arose, some naturally by the believers themselves, some introduced by the missionary. When a cornfield is to be planted, prayers for rain and a good yield are made. When the corn is harvested, a special service is held during the week to praise God for His provision. One congregation is now returning one ear of corn out of ten as a harvest offering. When a new house is finished, believers are invited to the new home to have a soft drink and cookies and to sing and pray for the blessings of God upon the new home and its occupants. When sickness comes, medicines are purchased. Instead of the witch-doctor's chants, the missionary prayed for the effectiveness of the medicines and provided a phonograph

with gospel records to be played throughout the night. Now, in case of serious illness, those who own a phonograph of their own follow this practice, while others will call in friends to pray and sing throughout the night. The empowering of the herbs and blood by the chants and music of the witch-doctor has been replaced with medicines empowered by the prayers and hymns of the family. When children fall at play, no fear grips the heart of an onlooking mother. The simple truth presented in relation to their cultural beliefs and fears has indeed set them free.

CONTRIBUTORS

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PRACTICAL PROBLEMS

[What missionary will not recognize in his own situation some problem similar to the one recounted below? It is so typical that we have asked a variety of different individuals to comment and are presenting the answers of three of them as a symposium. We invite other reactions from our readers as well as from the people we contacted in the first place. We have saved the most comprehensive reply for the next issue of Practical Anthropology. The writer's name is withheld by request.]

How Do I Adjust to Giving?

Though I was an anthropology major at Wheaton, I do not seem to have that perceptive initiative of analysis and application that would utilize to the fullest my training. For some time, a question has been rather unsettled in my mind. I would like to present it as, I. Problem; II. Native Custom; and III. My Approach Thus Far. I have been thinking about and writing this for some time, and I hope to present it to you clearly, with the idea that maybe you have some thoughts along these lines and could throw some light on the subject.

I. Problem

In Matthew 5:42, I read, "Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee, turn not thou away." Certainly this is a literal statement to be carried out literally, with wisdom. Nevertheless, it confronts me with a practical problem. I am the first residing white person, missionary or otherwise, among these 10,000 more or less people of West Africa. My problem is how to adapt to the customs and culture surrounding me and simultaneously demonstrate Jesus Christ by life in a pertinent way.

II. Native Custom

1. Anyone having two or more of the same item, two pair of shoes, for example, will be asked quite

outrightly for one of the "extra" pair. This is freely practiced among them. However, one going to the extreme in this is called "one who has given his legs away and is walking with his head on the ground."

2. When a person comes to salute you, that is an outright visit, not just passing through, one gives the visitor a gift of money or kola nuts. If this is not done, the visitor reminds you as he leaves that he has come to salute you, which interpreted means, "Give."

3. White man has a lot of money, therefore he should give a lot away. He is the one that makes it in the first place.

4. Kola nuts, I believe, are to be reckoned with in the same category as beetle nuts. The results of their use seem to be about the same.

5. The chief here is the big chief of all the Busa people in Dahomey. He is well off financially. He would have to be in order to give away money, horses, robes, etc., the way he does. Strangers, mostly Hausas from Nigeria, sing, flatter, and drum in front of his house for a couple of nights and then leave the village with one or more of the above-mentioned items. The chief, a Moslem, supplies the Moslem teachers with meat from his herd.

III. My Approach Thus Far

I will here refer to the numbered items under "Native Custom" for my answers, or my approach to them.

1. I have given old shirts or shorts, etc., to those working for me, but not to those who just came up and asked, and on one occasion I gave five boys one T-shirt each. Then too, I have given tin cans or small gifts of money (tip) to those bringing gifts from the chief.

2. Some have accepted a hearty "Thank you" in return for their visit; others have not, but have gone away

disturbed. To some I have given a gift of a tin can or money. This has been, however, to those (very few) who have visited me often and whom I have visited often, who have come to salute me for a holiday or festival. Saluting on a holiday really means a gift must be forthcoming.

3. To those asking for money, I have consented to some and refused others. To able-bodied men I have offered work and found out that they always have an excuse for not coming. I have also passed it off by saying I have no work at the present or trying to change the subject. There are two school teachers, a government nurse, and a veterinarian in the village, all of whom make two or three times as much as my allowance. The government publishes the salaries of these African men, so that we know the scale of pay. Naturally, since I am white, I must make more than they do. It would not be feasible, nor would they believe me, to tell them that I received less than those men. I am sure, however, that I have more than the average village native.

4. Kola nuts or their equivalent in money is the standard gift for all holidays. I consider kola nuts, along with beetle nuts, as bad. I do not give kola nuts nor the money they ask to buy them. I empty my wallet before going to town now.

5. Before coming to Africa, I was instructed by veteran missionaries, "Never loan money or give anything, even a tin can, to an African." Then I came to Africa and discovered that this is contrary to the customs of Africans. I agree with the first part of the statement, but I am not convinced of the latter part as a blanket rule, especially in light of Matthew 5:42. The people see all that the chief has materially, they see what he gives away, and then they wonder why I do not follow suit. I could not begin to attain equality financially with the chief or these government Africans, therefore the problem has not given me an inferiority complex.

Nevertheless, if the time comes when I will be translating this verse in Matthew with one of these "bush" Africans, what will I say to him if he should ask me, "Why don't you obey this command of the Lord Jesus?"

If you find time, I would appreciate any suggestions you have, whether it be some practical suggestion, or, to straighten out my thinking, a Scriptural exposition or economic theory enlightenment, such as "there ain't no free lunch," or some anthropological principle. Let me have it, please.

Reply I: A Toba Analogy

My only qualification for making any comments on your problems is that I have for five years faced some problems which are very similar. My work has been among the Toba Indians, who have within the last decades forsaken a life of hunting and fishing and have only poorly adjusted themselves to an agricultural economy--cotton raising. Within their ranks may be found men who raise cotton quite successfully, while at the same time there are those who are, as it were, adrift in an unfriendly world. They just cannot settle down long enough to see a cotton crop through from beginning to end.

An important point to remember is that we do our business in an Occidental modern world, while at the same time we are attempting to give a spiritual ministry in another quite distinct world. It is precisely at this point that our biggest unsolved and unsolvable problems lie. The Western world is an individualistic and materialistic world as compared with Toba ideals. We have a highly developed sense of private ownership, while in Toba society it is common to ask and to receive. No Toba can enrich himself over his fellows, for if he does, it is because he has refused to share, and if he refuses to share he is just plain "mean."

When a Toba becomes a Christian, he does not become individualistic and materialistic, as some North American missionaries used to try to make them so they would

be more Christian, but his sharing complex becomes more accentuated. To the Toba, this is the natural way of expressing what the Lord has done for him in his innermost being. And there are hundreds of Toba Christians!

So, what is the poor missionary going to do? He has a wife and three children who are just ready to begin their grade-school education. If he had no children, he and his wife would establish themselves in a little grass hut out in the country where the Tobas live, and do all possible to approximate the Toba setup, freely giving, freely receiving, and sometimes freely starving, just simply because I know that my ministry would be more effective. But I cannot do it so completely. What I am doing is living in town and taking my family out for short periods of several days. The more extended periods of living with the Tobas I do alone, simply because the children do not have the stamina to take things as they come sometimes.

It seems quite obvious to me already that I can never remove all the barriers between me and the Tobas. And I doubt that the Tobas expect me to. They are surrounded by innumerable white people who in many ways act just like I act. But in some ways, only by the grace of God, I am different from them. I will eat and sleep with the Tobas, I will sit with them, and I am learning to speak their language, things which whites do not "stoop" to do here.

Because of the partially self-induced poverty of the Tobas, the typical pattern of relationship between the Toba and the white man is "the beggar and the master." The economic disparity is obvious to all. The Toba has nothing; the white man has everything. So we missionaries must constantly be bumping up against the apparent but probably unconscious Toba desire for the same relationship to obtain between them and the missionaries. You probably know, too, how terribly easy it is for a North American to feel paternalistic, and so much more if he is constrained to share his religious faith. This

is all on the negative side of the ledger; it makes it difficult to obtain a brotherly relationship.

But on the positive side, there is that in Christian Toba personality which reaches out and draws to itself the foreign missionary with his Spanish Bible and begs him to teach him the Bible. So, in spite of the seeming impossibilities of our becoming complete brothers, there is something I can do freely which is of far more eternal value than to fill the oft-idle, outstretched hand with bread. This Bible teaching is received as an obvious sign of my concern for them, even though I cannot always comply with the economic demands which Toba brotherhood puts upon itself.

I thank God there are as many Toba Christians as there are, because it has made it impossible for me to force my own particular "convictions" upon them. This has also forced me to accept as of the Spirit of God Scripture interpretations which in some respects differ from my own. And, not least of all, it has relieved me of the "burden" of being their self-appointed moral judge. Instead, I can freely rejoice with them that God has saved them from darkness to light.

You probably wonder whether I will ever comment on your questions. Frankly, I don't know what to say. As to the advice previous missionaries gave you, I might mention that my own uncle, who founded our work here thirteen years ago, and who is now retired after thirty-two years of foreign mission service, still cannot understand how I can be so "complacent" about the native Toba expression of Christianity. But I am convinced that a church must follow native lines from the very beginning or it is nothing but a missionary's delusion of a church. The missionary fools himself and confuses the people.

As to whether it is "wrong" or "right" to use kola nuts, let the Christians tell you that one. If it is a sin to use them, the Holy Spirit will in time make it

clear to the believers. Of course, this does not deny to you the privilege of explaining the evil effects of the drug, but the final decision will be between them and God. It might just so happen that in their way of thinking the use of kola nuts will be classed as of relative unimportance as compared to the practice of "giving"! In Toba society the drinking of maté, a very strong tea, is not a moral question, but to refuse to help a needy brother when you obviously have what it takes is to deny by your actions the love of Christ which you have in your heart (or rather, profess to have).

I might add that in Toba society sharing tends strongly to follow family lines; that is, one is not free to ask from a nonrelative. Unfortunately for us, everybody claims us as their "brother." Already we are in a category all to ourselves. But if we honestly try to approximate the accepted Christian conduct, the differences which remain will probably not prove to be as big a stumbling block as we might imagine.

Albert Buckwalter

Reply II: Questions to Investigate

The problem seems to divide itself into two aspects: Number 1, whether or not the giving and acceptance of kola nuts is bad; Number 2, the native expectation that you are rich and able to give money.

I wonder just what the status of kola nuts and the effect on the people is. Is it a real narcotic or intoxicant, or does it more or less give the effect of chewing tobacco or cigarettes? Do you ever accept a gift of kola nuts from those whom you visit? Here would be an ideal situation for the functional substitute, but I don't know what it might be in this case. Is there any other highly prized item of diet which is available? Some of my students suggested that it would be better to allow the kola nuts gift-giving to remain intact and

that you should participate in it in view of the importance they place on it, but my only reaction to this would be that when you have a body of believers in adult society, at some point in the future the question of kola nuts may arise, with the precedent established by then that the missionary had sanctioned them, and then it would be hard to break with the habit if it were found necessary.

Another question: Is there always a gift given to you from those whom you say you visit often? Would a stepped-up frequency of visiting on your part help to equalize the strain on your own resources? Would your use and ownership of extra items of clothing, perhaps, have to be sacrificed in this case to the more difficult program of getting things only as they are needed and save the embarrassment of refusing clothing and extras which the missionary would normally have as equipment for the future?

Now as to the matter of the native idea that you are rich because you are white, I think that it would be a very wise plan to have your salary or allowance specifically published by the same agency of the government that publishes the salaries of the two school teachers, the government nurse, and the veterinarian. In this way the normal avenue of such information would tend to verify your proper financial status with reference to these other individuals and would perhaps alleviate the conditions somewhat, with your added explanation that the role of a missionary, even a white one, is not always one of financial abundance.

Is there some way that you could be supplied with trinkets or small inexpensive objects, even such as safety pins or whatever else you might discover would be acceptable for the occasional or frequent visitation gift-giving necessities by someone here at home who would consider this a matter of tithe or missionary giving? It would seem that some such plan as that would take the focus of attention away from both kola nuts and money.

These are just a few random thoughts which have occurred to us as we have discussed it among some of the students and others. I would also add, however, that I am in disagreement with the advice you received before you went out; namely, that Africans should never be loaned or given anything. I think particularly in this case you must attempt somehow to fit into the pattern of gift exchange, which can hardly be said to be "heathen" or in any other way at variance with the true Christian testimony. It obviously is a matter of economic adjustment for which, without doubt, you will find the best approach as you remain there and as various circumstances arise. Also, you will no doubt find that a careful explanation of your position to an adult native convert will perhaps help to circulate the reasons for your refusal to give and loan money and allow for the native people themselves to make a better adjustment to you as you attempt to adjust to them.

J.O.B., III

Reply III: Is Giving an Equalization Process?

Even though I have spent a fair amount of time on Chicago's Skid Row--not as a denizen, however--I have not yet reached the point of growth in grace where even in my own culture I can shell out a dime to a bum who touches me for it with rejoicing. Moreover, in an area where at the present time corn is scarce and other things unobtainable due to the crop failure, and where eating even a little more than the bare minimum is looked upon as putting on airs, I am really at a loss to know what to do for or with needy people who ask and not-so-needy people who usually ask more. Nevertheless, as you point out in your letter, Matthew 5:42 (and Luke 6: 27-36) are there to be carried out.

I do not think we as missionaries can dodge the question merely by averring that a dole is sheer paternalism--pan et circenses. The Lord did not say anything about stockpiling enough things to make a dole possible, and it certainly is possible to give on a small scale

within one's means. It is also impossible to give away what one does not have. This puts the relatively mobile missionary at an advantage in that he can do most of his stockpiling in places where the things will not be asked for.

But that leaves the missionary still with a number of things which could be given away, no matter where he is. I notice that very few of us seem to have problems about giving our time; money and things which can be bought with money is usually the place where the squeeze is put on us. In this respect, I find that I am constantly reminded in the Scriptures that I am a citizen of a place where money doesn't matter; that I am to follow the good example laid down long ago and take cheerfully the plundering of my goods; that God will supply my needs (and He has). Yet it seems to be harder for me to part with a peso than to perform minor surgery on somebody's poor axemanship. I suppose the only way to convince myself that the problem can be solved by taking the bull by the horns and giving is to try it--and I do not know anyone else from my cultural background who has.

In regard to the way of doing things in your tribe, I wonder whether a study of the gift-giving system would not reveal that one who gives a lot away, such as the chief, does not also receive an approximately equal amount. The fact that he remains a rich man and is not reduced to poverty might indicate that he does a rather good amount of visiting himself--or if he is wealthy from some other source, then other rich men receive gifts as well as give them. So gift-giving does not amount to a method of equalizing the wealth of the banker to the level of that of a gravedigger in the manner of the United States income tax. If such is the case, it might be both practical and a furtherance of the work to give in the expected fashion, and also make enough visits to be reimbursed economically, at the same time getting to know a lot more people better. We have also

found, though it is probably not the case in Africa, that people frequently find useful the things we consider junk, such as tin cans and cardboard boxes.

Joseph Grimes

Reply IV: You Are Different

We are aware of the account of the missionary who took Matthew 5:42 literally in some spot in Africa. After he had given everything he owned, the villagers took pity upon his destitute condition and brought the things back. So God did not desert His servant even in such a situation.

I am a literalist, but I think that many such requests must be answered in a long-range relationship, for instance, by providing through the society for beggars. Either we change their approach toward life or provide in a community responsibility aspect for their needs.

Your case is different. They are not literally asking for things; they are following a custom of the land which requires giving. You wish to adopt the customs of your environment as far as is consistent with the purpose of your being there. I think you are right in not giving kola or using the kola nuts in this situation.

Should you not equate yourself with the religious leaders of the land, rather than with the rulers? The rulers receive many gifts and are in a position to give. In the long run, the give and take equalizes. I do not know, but I have a suspicion that the religious leaders, like the fetish priests or whatever they call them, do not give the gifts that the rulers do to everyone who "salutes them." If so, you should immediately confer the information that you are a religious leader and will act accordingly.

Another approach--Change the "custom." As you have already learned, the magic formula "It is the custom" or

"It is not my custom" ends all debates and answers all questions in that land. Very well, can you not work out a basis of giving something as insignificant as the kola nut but without any moral question. You are different--no one needs to be told that--one look at you, your clothes, your house, etc.; therefore, in keeping with the primary position you hold as "different," follow out their custom with a different approach--peanuts or something like that--explaining very carefully that "this is our custom."

Whatever you do, look into the future when you will have a large Christian constituency and many churches. What will be all right then? What should be the Christian custom then? So start now when it is easy to mold the thinking of the people as you begin. Later, after the church has solidified its customs, you will find it very hard to change.

Ray Buker, Sr.

EDITORIAL REMARKS

Proximity or Neighborliness?

Missionaries talk about "going out to live among the people" (although anyone who has seen a typical mission compound will not take that cliché too literally), but how many have ever thought of being neighbors to these "people" nearby?

In our western world individuals may be thrown into regular contact, even close physical proximity over long periods of time, and not have more than the most superficial social intercourse, if any at all. This is most true of our large cities where people in adjoining apartments may never meet each other, or if they do, may have no more than a formal and polite social interchange. Even in smaller communities, however, the boss who works daily with his men may have no other contact with them (except for the annual Christmas party), and people who bow in church may never meet during the week.

It is not until we reach the very small rural community in the United States that we find a high degree of neighborliness between people in close proximity, where everybody knows everybody else. An indication of the fact that in our culture we do not always put high value on such relationships is that we may add to the previous sentence: and where everybody minds everybody else's business.

In our highly complex society we have built cultural devices for keeping people close by from being neighbors unless for some reason we choose to include them. These barriers provide a protection for us, keep us from having to associate with people who are not compatible, whose race or education or social status is different from ours. We can withdraw within the barriers for security from people and social patterns which conflict with our own.

Some missionaries live in large cities where this urban pattern of proximity without neighborliness may be well developed. If they bring in their insulating mechanism as part of their cultural baggage it is not particularly conspicuous, although even in the urban setting it may be an almost insurmountable barrier to effective communication on an individual level. Such missionaries have to rely on the mechanics of playing church and mass evangelism to do what has historically been most effectively done by the personal contact of one dedicated soul with his neighbor.

It is in the rural mission areas where proximity without neighborliness stands out in such painfully brutal fashion. Typically, the mission builds a compound on a hill a mile outside of the village. A cluster of huts may be built on the least desirable part of the compound for servants and hangers-on. Non-western school teachers and preachers have their quarter, too. It is hard to imagine a more effective physical way of isolating the missionary from the people "among whom he is living."

But the psychological isolation is far more serious. As one missionary put it, "The Africans know to which missionary door they can go." A conversation which was reported to me is not an extreme case. One missionary had learned that a Bible revision committee which included both Westerners and Africans had refreshments served during the morning, and asked, "What do you do with the Africans?" When he learned that they were served too, he asked if butter tins were brought in for the Africans' coffee. When he learned that they were served from cups no differently from anyone else he was horrified, considering it most unsanitary.

Missionaries protect themselves from the people around them by a host of devices. They may never participate socially either in the local culture or through inviting people into their homes. They may not learn the language really well. They may be contemptuous of

the uneducated and revolted by the unclean. They are not interested in the things which interest people. They are therefore remote, distant, and terribly cold.

On a recent trip in Africa I saw two examples of missionary neighborliness which I would like to contrast to the above. One was in the home of Dr. and Mrs. Wesley Sadler, Lutheran missionaries among the Loma people of Liberia. (In their case the "among" is not figurative.) The Sadlers' home is on the edge of a Loma village, just a few yards from the nearest Africans' houses. It is not, however, that close proximity which makes the Sadlers neighbors, but it is their spirit.

During each evening while I was there, anywhere from two to five or six of the villagers, men and women, would drop in. They would come individually, and stay for just a few minutes. They came naturally, without the embarrassment which marks the entrance of an African tribesman into so many missionary homes. They stopped and chatted for a few minutes, and then left. They were at home. The usual barrier was not there. Equally revealing was the Sadlers' reception of their visitors. It was the reception given someone with whom you are on the very friendly relation of frequent contact. The visit was taken for granted, and it was enjoyed.

Sadlers raised their children under that thatched roof in Woozie, the little Loma village. They studied Loma life and language not just as anthropologists and linguists (Dr. Sadler's Ph.D. is in linguistics) but as interested neighbors. They liked their neighbors and wanted to know them better. I have never seen happier missionaries.

The other example of missionary neighborliness which I saw took place when I was visiting Dr. and Mrs. William Reyburn in the Camerouns. We heard drum beats one evening and went to investigate. A group of students was "playing." They had formed a circle, in which they were dancing and singing, while one person danced in the

middle. The person in the center tried to perform some antic which was different from what anyone else had done. When he had finished he would point to someone in the circle who would take his place. Reyburn took a few steps so that they would not think we had come to criticize. He made everybody laugh, and then we sat down to watch.

Before long the dancer in the center pointed to Reyburn there on the bench, and he went into the circle to jump up and down. Before long I had been invited too, and we were all jumping up and down to the beat (I was at least trying) for about half an hour. Once I got over being self-conscious it was fun.

The next day word of the Africans' appreciation came through to the Reyburns: "It is the first time anyone (meaning missionaries) ever played with us."

NOTES AND NEWS

Buswell Presents Paper at University of Chicago

On February 18, 1957, James O. Buswell, III presented a paper to a seminar group composed of the faculty and graduate students of the anthropology department of the University of Chicago. His paper, "Is There an Alternative to Organic Evolution?" presented a creationist view of the origin of man which takes into account the paleontological record.

Dr. Sol Tax, the chairman of the department, invited Buswell to present this paper because Tax felt that if there is an alternative to organic evolution which is true to anthropological evidence, the anthropologists should not overlook it. The original contact between Buswell and Tax was the result of Tax seeing the issue of Practical Anthropology which contained Buswell's review of Life magazine's "Epic of Man."

Buswell reports that the paper was received by the group with sincere interest and no hostility. Dr. Tax reported that the seminar "impressed and instructed all of us."

Central States Anthropological Society Meeting

Claude E. Stipe and James O. Buswell, III attended the 33rd Annual Meeting of the Central States Anthropological Society at the University of Wisconsin at Madison from May 2-4, 1957 and gave the following report.

Among the papers presented at a session on culture change was that of Walter H. Sangree of the University of Chicago entitled "The Structure and Symbol Underlying the Decision to Become a Christian in Bantu Tiriki." Missionaries considered the Tiriki extremely difficult to work with because the only Christians were a few old people, children, and social deviants and outcasts.

Sangree pointed out that the missionaries failed to understand that the Tiriki age-grading system was responsible for the differential response to Christianity.

A panel discussion on "The Use of Motion Pictures in Anthropological Research and Training" was very interesting and informative. The comments of Paul Fejos of the Wenner-Gren Foundation, who led the discussion, were of great interest since he had been a Hollywood motion picture director. It was pointed out that movies can be just as subjective as written material since the person who takes the pictures is being selective each time he points the camera.

A "Seminar on the Teaching of Anthropology" was interesting since it pointed up the problems of teaching anthropology in many different academic situations. Discussion ranged from the content and structure of the introductory course to the preparation for graduate school, with specific papers dealing with anthropology in the liberal arts college; the general education program; the inter-disciplinary program; and area study programs.

A lively discussion resulted from papers presented on the problem of Indian Termination. C. W. M. Hart of the University of Wisconsin spoke for termination of Federal assistance to the Indians, stating that in some areas of Wisconsin the local governments have already taken all responsibility. In answer to recent articles in the Atlantic Monthly and other magazines on the "Rape of the Indians," he stated that the land that the Indians have is practically worthless and that the idea that there are people waiting to grab it is a myth. The ensuing discussion demonstrated that the worthlessness of Indian lands is fiction and that the few selected Wisconsin Indian groups which Hart used as a basis for his presentation are not representative.

Sol Tax of the University of Chicago discussed the problems of termination from the standpoint of the Indians. He mentioned the fairly prevalent attitude that

"Indians should be cut loose to either sink or swim" and pointed out that in actuality they do neither--they "float." One of the main points of Tax's discussion was that the Indians have a right as individuals to decide what they want to be, and that others have no moral right to attempt to force them to lose themselves in the stream of American life and forfeit their identity as Indians.

BOOK REVIEWS

Health, Culture, and Community. Benjamin D. Paul, editor. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. 1955. 493pp. \$5.00.

Reviewed by James O. Buswell, III

In the December, 1955 (Vol. 2, No. 6) issue of Practical Anthropology Robert Taylor reviewed another Russell Sage Foundation volume, Human Problems in Technological Change, edited by E. H. Spicer. Taylor concluded by saying, "In my opinion study of this book is one of the simplest ways for the missionary or anyone else...to begin his study of cultural change."

Health, Culture, and Community is just such another case book devoted to the examination of "what does happen, not what ought to happen," as the result of the impact of a medical program upon a community. As such, this volume has infinitely greater implications than purely medical ones for the student or missionary who is involved in almost any other cross-cultural situation where some change is being introduced.

The cases are divided into six parts, I. Reeducating the Community, II. Reaction to Crises, III. Sex Patterns and Population Problems, IV. Effects of Social Segmentation, V. Vehicles of Health Administration, and VI. Combining Service and Research.

The case studies are taken from a wide variety of cultures, including South African Zulus, rural Rajasthan, urban Puerto Rico, and towns or communities in Peru, Thailand, China, India, Chile, Mexico, Guatemala, Colorado, Alabama, and a Boston suburb.

This and the Spicer volume could be admirably adapted for use in the class room or for study on the field.

Man, Culture, and Society. Edited by Harry L. Shapiro.
New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. 380pp. \$5.50

Reviewed by James O. Buswell, III

Not since Franz Boas' General Anthropology has such an outstanding group of authorities combined authorship in an introductory anthropology text.

Both books have sixteen chapters. But, whereas the Boas volume had only eight contributors in all, Shapiro's volume has a different author for each chapter. This indicates not only an advanced degree of specialization today but also the increased number of specialists in anthropology.

In the words of the editor, who is head of the anthropology division of the American Museum of Natural History, "My original intent...was to present a kind of basic anthropology for the general reader and for those who were being introduced to the subject for the first time." In the opinion of this reviewer, Dr. Shapiro has not only succeeded in his original intent, but has assembled, as well, a most stimulating set of essays which will provide for the more advanced student an up-to-date re-statement and summary of the thinking of leading authorities from England, France, and the United States in the areas in which their names have long since become established. For example, "How Human Society Operates" is by Robert Redfield of Chicago; "Primitive Economics" by Daryll Forde of University College, London; "The Family" by Claude Lévi-Strauss of the University of Paris; and "The New Stone Age" is by V. Gordon Childe of the University of London.

Other high spots in the volume are Dr. Shapiro's crystal clear presentation of the fundamentals of race, after a somewhat pedestrian discussion of prehistoric man in his opening chapter, "Human Beginnings"; E. Adamson Hoebel's accurate but brief survey of selected aspects of "The Nature of Culture"; "The Growth of Culture"

an article completed by Ruth Benedict just before her death; and the rather unusual discussion of "Religion" by R. Godfrey Lienhardt of Oxford, which provides an analytical approach to primitive religion with much food for thought for those interested in Christian missions.

The longest chapter (38 pp.) is the one on "The Old Stone Age" by H. L. Mövius, Jr., of Harvard, again a recognized, world authority in this field.

Space would not permit a separate evaluation of each one of these chapters, whose general level of excellence is high indeed due to their carefully selected authorship. Those remaining to be mentioned, however, are as follows:

An introduction to archeology, "The Study of Early Cultures" by James B. Griffin of Michigan; "The Metal Ages: Copper, Bronze, and Iron" by J. O. Brew of Harvard; "Man in the New World" by L.S. Cressman of Oregon; "Language and Writing" by Harry Hoijer of U.C.L.A.; "Inventions and Human Society" by Leslie Spier of New Mexico; "How Culture Changes" by George Peter Murdock of Yale; and "Social Groupings" by David G. Mandelbaum of California.

Thirteen excellent plates, a list of suggested readings, and a full index add to the usefulness of the volume.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Appreciation

I really do appreciate the hard work that you all are doing in the publication of Practical Anthropology. I look forward eagerly to the coming of each issue. Naturally, I try to relate my experience with that which the magazine presents, and find much "food" for thought. May the Lord bless and help you as you seek to help us.

Robert Blaschke
Segbana, via Kandi
Dahomey, F.W.A.

I also would like to add my word of appreciation for Practical Anthropology. I enjoy reading it, and it has been an encouragement and a help to me as well. I believe, too, it has a good future and can increasingly meet real needs both for missionaries already on the field and for Bible Colleges and Institutes which are training our future missionaries.

Incidentally, I think the name Practical Anthropology states just what we want and reflects the purpose of the magazine well.

Leon Gillaspie, Registrar
Southeastern Bible College
Birmingham, Alabama

Footnotes to Earlier Issues

Maybe these items are of interest:

Re the review of Return to Laughter: "Eleanor Smith Bowen" is the pseudonym of Laura Bohannon, and the account takes place among the Tiv of Nigeria. Laura and

Paul Bohannon wrote The Tiv of Central Nigeria, published by the International African Institute, London, 1953. Paul Bohannon teaches at Oxford, and this year is at Princeton.

Re "Notes on Maurice Leenhardt," p.67: "In this connection it should be recalled that the 'Christian' college or university does not exist in Europe. They are government institutions."

What about the Free University of Amsterdam? And no doubt others?

George Spee
Hartford, Conn.

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